

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-09 IO-10 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 CU-02 OES-03

SAM-01 SAJ-01 ACDA-05 TRSE-00 EB-07 COME-00 NRC-05

ERDA-05 OIC-02 OMB-01 BIB-01 /103 W
----- 090453

O R 101125Z MAY 75

FM US MISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2807

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 289

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USLO SAACLANT NORFOLK VA

CINCLANT

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 3403

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG, PARM, EGEN, EEWT, SGEN

SUBJECT: CSCE: STAGE II HIGHLIGHTS-MAY 5-9

1. SUMMARY: THE CONFERENCE HAD A SHORT WEEK IN VIEW OF
THE SOVIET DESIRE TO COMMEMORATE V-E DAY ON MAY 9 AND THE
WESTERN EUROPEAN TENDENCY TO CELEBRATE ASCENSION

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DAY ON MAY 8. NEVERTHELESS THERE WERE SOME FURTHER SIGNS

OF THE SOVIET DESIRE TO CONCLUDE SUBJECTS OF INTEREST TO THEM. THEY ACCEPTED A KEY FRENCH COMPROMISE PHRASE ON EQUAL VALUE AND INTERPRETATION OF THE PRINCIPLES, AND OFFERED THE FIRST FLEXIBILITY THEY HAVE SHOWN THUS FAR ON THE ORGANIZATION OF THE FINAL DOCUMENTS. DISCUSSION OF THE QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES SAVING CLAUSE ALSO TOOK A STEP FORWARD WHEN WESTERN POWERS AGREED ON A MORE FLEXIBLE APPROACH. THERE WERE SOME HINTS OF POSSIBLE PROGRESS IN CBMS BUT BASKETS II AND III REMAINED PRETTY WELL STALLED. NEVERTHELESS, THE GENERAL INTENSITY OF CONFERENCE ACTIVITY CONTINUED, AND THERE WERE SOME INDICATIONS THAT REASONABLE PROGRESS CAN BE EXPECTED SHORTLY. WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DELEGATIONS CLEARLY FEEL THAT THE PERIOD LEADING UP TO THE NATO SUMMIT AT THE END OF MAY WILL BE CRUCIAL IF CSCE IS TO CONCLUDE THIS SUMMER, AND THE SOVIETS PROBABLY SHARE THIS VIEW. END SUMMARY.

2. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION--SUBCOMMITTEE CAME CLOSE TO MAJOR BREAKTHROUGH WITH SOVIET ACCEPTANCE MAY 7 OF FRENCH COMPROMISE TEXT ON EQUAL VALUE AND INTERPRETATION OF PRINCIPLES FOR INSERTION IN FINAL CLAUSES OF DECLARATION. UNLESS ROMANIANS PRESS THEIR DESIRE TO STRENGTHEN THIS TEXT, EMERGING CONSENSUS SHOULD FACILITATE PROGRESS ON OTHER FINAL CLAUSES AND IMPORTANT TRANSITIONAL SENTENCE LEADING FROM PREAMBLE TO PRINCIPLES THEMSELVES, A NUMBER OF ELEMENTS OF WHICH DEPEND ON EQUAL VALUE TEXT. PROGRESS ON FINAL CLAUSES SUGGESTS SUBCOMMITTEE MAY SOON TURN TO DRAFTING OF PREAMBLE, BUT ALSO HIGHLIGHTS ABSENCE OF AGREED QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES (QRR) SAVING CLAUSE WHICH NOW BECOMES PERHAPS SINGLE MOST DIFFICULT REMAINING PROBLEM FOR FIRST READING OF PRINCIPLES. BONN GROUP ALLIES HAVE OBTAINED MORE FLEXIBLE INSTRUCTIONS ON THIS ISSUE, BUT IT IS NOT YET KNOWN TO WHAT EXTENT SOVIETS WILL ALLOW PRESENT QRR TEXT TO BE ALTERED TO SATISFY NEUTRALS' DESIRES. BY CONTRAST WITH PRINCIPLES SUBCOMMITTEE, SPECIAL WORKING BODY ON IMPLEMENTATION AGAIN FAILED TO MAKE PROGRESS ON SWISS PROPOSAL ON PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES, WITH NUMBER OF EC-9 DELS PRESSING FOR REFINING MANDATE OF POST-CSCE MEETING OF EXPERTS, CONFIDENTIAL

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SOVIETS INSISTING THAT UNKNOWN "ADDITIONAL PROPOSALS" SHOULD HAVE EQUAL PLACE IN MANDATE WITH SWISS PROPOSAL, AND BOTH EAST AND WEST SKEPTICAL OF SWISS DRAFT LANGUAGE THAT SUGGESTS MEETING MIGHT BE CONVENED BY SWISS WITHOUT DUE REGARD FOR PROSPECTS OF SUCCESS.

3. MILITARY SECURITY--SUBCOMMITTEE HELD ONLY ONE SESSION DURING WEEK, AND ALLIED AND NEUTRAL REPS FOCUSED DISCUS-

SION ON TIME-SCALE FOR ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS, THE ONE PARAMETER ON WHICH SOVIETS HAD NOT YET SHOWN ANY EVIDENCE OF THEIR PURPORTED FLEXIBILITY. SOVIETS HINTED THAT THEY COULD MOVE FROM 10 DAYS TO 13-14 DAYS OF PRIOR NOTIFICATION FOR SOME MANEUVERS, BUT INSISTED THAT CENTRAL AUTHORITIES WOULD NOT KNOW ABOUT SOME OTHER, LOCALLY PLANNED MANEUVERS IN TIME TO ANNOUNCE THEM ANY EARLIER THAN TEN DAYS IN ADVANCE. SUBCOMMITTEE WILL AGAIN TAKE UP QUESTION OF "VOLUNTARY BASIS" NEXT WEEK, AND ALLIED SUBGROUP (US, UK, AND NETHERLANDS) IS AT WORK ON WAYS TO MOVE TOWARD SOVIETS WITHOUT ACCEPTING "NOTIFY ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS" IN OPERATIVE TEXT. ONE ALTERNATIVE UNDER SERIOUS CONSIDERATION IS TO INSERT "VOLUNTARY BASIS" INTO PREAMBLE IN SUCH A WAY THAT IT APPLIES TO ALL CBM'S, NOT JUST MANEUVERS, AND LEAVES AMBIGUOUS WHETHER UNDERTAKING OR IMPLEMENTATION OF MEASURE IS TO BE CONSIDERED "VOLUNTARY". DEPENDING ON CAUCUS DECISION, THIS OPTION MAY BE PRESENTED AS FORMAL ALLIED PROPOSAL NEXT WEEK.

4. ECONOMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY--IN FULL COMMITTEE THE NEW FRENCH TEXT ON DEVELOPING COUNTRIES CAME UNDER HEAVY ATTACK FROM DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, AND FRENCH ANNOUNCED AT NATO CAUCUS THAT THEY WOULD WITHDRAW IT. ALSO AT NATO CAUCUS, USDEL GAVE ITS REACTION TO THE TENTATIVE EC PROPOSALS FOR SAFEGUARDS, NOTING THAT WE PREFER THE FIRST OF THEIR THREE ALTERNATIVES BUT COULD ALSO ACCEPT THE OTHER TWO. CANADA TOOK THE SAME POSITION. THE EC PROMISED TO GIVE US THEIR FURTHER VIEWS SOON. SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES BEGAN CONSIDERATION OF A HUNGARIAN PROPOSAL FOR THE PREAMBLE RELATING TO MFN/RECIPROCITY. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY SUBCOMMITTEE HAD ONE INFORMAL MEETING ON SOVIET PROPOSED REVISIONS TO AGREED TEXTS. LITTLE PROGRESS
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WAS MADE, DESPITE NARROWING OF DIFFERENCES LAST WEEK. SUBCOMMITTEE ON OTHER AREAS TURNED TO CLEANUP OF TOURISM TEXT, INCLUDING ROMANIAN BRACKETS AROUND REFERENCE TO TRAVEL DOCUMENTS, AND SOVIETS WITH ROMANIAN ENCOURAGEMENT REOPENED BASKET III-RELATED DEBATE MORE OR LESS SETTLED FIVE MONTHS AGO.

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-09 IO-10 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

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SAM-01 SAJ-01 ACDA-05 TRSE-00 EB-07 COME-00 NRC-05

ERDA-05 OIC-02 OMB-01 BIB-01 /103 W
----- 090526

O R 101125Z MAY 75

FM US MISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2808

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 290

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

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5. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION--SOVIETS CONTINUED TO
STONEWALL ON HUMAN CONTACTS AND INFORMATION, EVIDENTLY
IN THE HOPE THAT GROWING TIME PRESSURES WILL LEAD WESTERN
AND NEUTRAL DELEGATIONS TO TAKE NEW INITIATIVES ON SOME
OF THE KEY ISSUES IN THESE SUBJECT AREAS. THE ONE NEW
DEVELOPMENT WAS EASTERN INTRODUCTION OF A LENGTHY AND
TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE PAPER ON EXCHANGES IN THE FIELD
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OF SPORT, A SUBJECT WHICH HAD NOT PREVIOUSLY BEEN
BROACHED AND WHICH WESTERN DELEGATIONS HAD HOPED COULD
BE SWEEPED UNDER THE RUG. DURING NEGOTIATIONS IN NEW

MINI-GROUP OF SUBCOMMITTEE ON CULTURE, SOVIETS FOR FIRST TIME BEGAN TO SHOW SLIGHT FLEXIBILITY ON WESTERN PROPOSALS REGARDING CONTACTS AMONG CREATIVE ARTISTS. SOVIETS ALSO APPROACHED DUTCH DELEGATION SUGGESTING RENEWED BILATERAL TALKS WITH VIEW TO REACHING AGREEMENT ON LATTER'S SENSITIVE PROPOSAL CONCERNING CONTACTS BETWEEN AUTHORS-AND PUBLISHING HOUSES. IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN HOW FAR SOVIETS ARE NOW PREPARED TO GO IN ORDER TO BREAK LONG EAST/WEST IMPASSE ON THESE KEY SUBJECTS. SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION REMAINED BOGGED DOWN ON CONTROVERSIAL YUGOSLAV PROPOSAL REGARDING NATIONAL MINORITIES, THOUGH AT WEEK'S END YUGOSLAV REPRESENTATIVES INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER MINOR MODIFICATIONS IN THEIR TEXT.

6. MEDITERRANEAN--NO MEETINGS THIS WEEK. MALTESE HAVE CONFIRMED THAT THEY INTEND TO REOPEN DISCUSSION OF OPERATIVE PARTS OF MEDITERRANEAN DECLARATION, WHICH WE ASSUME WILL INCLUDE DISCUSSION OF A POSSIBLE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES AND CSCE FOLLOW-UP.

7. FINAL DOCUMENTS AND STAGE III--COORDINATING COMMITTEE RETURNED BRIEFLY TO DISCUSSION OF ORGANIZATION OF FINAL CSCE DOCUMENTS WHEN DUTCH SUBMITTED A REVISED VERSION OF THE ILLUSTRATIVE "FRAMEWORK" FOR THE FINAL DOCUMENTS WHICH THEY TABLED MORE THAN A YEAR AGO. NEW DUTCH PAPER SUGGESTS A BRIEF FACTUAL COVER NOTE, WHICH WOULD BE SIGNED, WITH ALL SUBSTANTIVE DOCUMENTS INCLUDED AS ANNEXES. SOVIET RESPONSE WAS MILD AND DID NOT REJECT NEW DUTCH APPROACH, BUT SUGGESTED WORKING TOWARD A COMPROMISE WITH SOVIET IDEA OF SIGNATURES ON EACH OF THE FOUR OR FIVE MAIN CONFERENCE DOCUMENTS. AS A MOVE IN THIS DIRECTION, SOVIETS SUGGESTED THAT EVEN WITH MULTIPLE SIGNATURES ALL CSCE DOCUMENTS COULD BE CONLUDED IN ONE VOLUME, WITH PAGES NUMBERED SEQUENTIALLY. IN WORKING GROUP ON STAGE III DISCUSSION CONTINUED ON LESS CONTROVERSIAL ORGANIZATIONAL CONFIDENTIAL

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ASPECTS OF STAGE III. IT WAS CLEAR FROM DISCUSSION THAT VIRTUALLY ALL DELEGATIONS NOW ASSUME THAT STAGE III WILL BE HELD AT THE SUMMIT DURING JULY OF THIS YEAR.

8. FOLLOW-UP--NO PROGRESS OF ANY SORT WAS MADE IN WORKING GROUP. HOWEVER, SWISS ORGANIZED AN INFORMAL MEETING WITH SELECTED WESTERN DEL TO KICK OFF A NEUTRAL EFFORT TO BREAK THIS DEADLOCK. NEUTRALS ARE SOON EXPECTED TO FLOAT A NEW COMPROMISE TEXT. WESTERN

DELEGATIONS ARE ALSO BEGINNING TO REVIEW THEIR POSITIONS
WITH A VIEW TO IDENTIFYING POSSIBLE COMPROMISE GESTURES.

9. COMMENT: FOR TWO YEARS CSCE HAS BEEN ANTICIPATING
THE FINAL CRUNCH, AND THERE HAVE BEEN TIMES DURING
THIS PERIOD WHEN IT HAS SEEMED VERY CLOSE. NOW,
HOWEVER, THE SITUATION PERMITS NO OTHER ANALYSIS: IF
CSCE IS TO CONCLUDE THIS SUMMER, AS THE SOVIETS AND
VIRTUALLY ALL OTHER DELEGATIONS HOPE, THE CRUNCH IS
NOW. EVERYONE HERE, INCLUDING THE SOVIETS, ASSUMES
THAT THE NATO SUMMIT AT THE END OF MAY WILL HAVE TO
TAKE A POSITION, PUBLICLY OR PRIVATELY, ON THE TIMING
OF STAGE III. THE SATISFACTORY CONCLUSION OF SUBSTANTIVE
NEGOTIATIONS ON THREE OUTSTANDING CONFERENCE ISSUES
WOULD VIRTUALLY ENSURE WESTERN ACCEPTANCE OF A SUMMIT
IN JULY: THESE ISSUES ARE CBMS, WORKING CONDITIONS
FOR JOURNALISTS, AND THE FREER MOVEMENT SUBJECT OF
FACILITATION OF TRAVEL. A LESSER ACHIEVEMENT WOULD
PROBABLY RESULT IN A MORE EQUIVOCAL CONCLUSION AT THE
NATO MEETING, AND LESS CERTAINTY AS TO A JULY MEETING.
THE SOVIETS KNOW THIS, BUT ARE PLAYING A VERY TOUGH
GAME, COUNTING ON WESTERN WEAKNESS IN THE FINAL SPRINT.
THE WESTERN COUNTRIES ARE WELL AWARE OF THIS SOVIET
TACTIC AND WOULD LIKE TO MATCH IT WITH DETERMINATION
AND RESOLVE OF THEIR OWN, BUT THEY ARE DOUBTFUL OF
THEIR CAPACITY FOR RESISTING IN THIS KIND OF PRESSURIZED
SITUATION. THE TWO ELEMENTS WHICH WOULD CLEARLY MAKE
IT POSSIBLE FOR THEM TO STAND UP AGAINST THE SOVIETS
ARE WESTERN UNITY AND THE BACKBONE PROVIDED BY A
REASONABLE BUT FIRM US POSITION. THEY ARE WATCHING US
CAREFULLY TO SEE TO WHAT EXTENT WE WILL JOIN ACTIVELY
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WITH THEM IN BRINGING ABOUT THE KIND OF RESULTS WHICH
WILL BE VIEWED POSITIVELY IN THE WEST IN TIME FOR A
JULY SUMMIT. END COMMENT.ABRAMS

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